

APPEAL TO THE LOCO FOCOS,

DRAWN FROM THEIR OWN DOCUMENTS.

BY JONATHAN B. MANN,

A Shoemaker of Natick.

It is a lamentable fact, that men are oftentimes governed by mere party spirit rather than reason. Especially is this the case in times of great excitement, like the present, when two great parties are gathering their forces and exerting their utmost energies to obtain or maintain an ascendancy in the affairs of state. At the present time there are many calm and considerate men among the supporters of Mr. Van Buren, who reject all the arguments and facts brought forward to prove the corruption of his Administration; brand the whole of them as Whig lies, simply because they are led away by party zeal. It is the design of the present work to appeal to such men, not with *Whig* arguments, but with the arguments furnished by the attested documents of the Administration.

It is an universally accredited rule of law, that the highest possible evidence is that furnished by a culprit against himself. Accordingly when a supposed criminal pleads guilty, nothing remains but the sentence and execution of the law.

Applying this principle to those men who now rule the country, no honest patriot can for a moment maintain that they longer deserve the confidence reposed in them.

The following propositions can be proved by the testimony which these men have published themselves:

- 1st. THE ADMINISTRATION PARTY, ON COMING INTO POWER, PROMISED RETRENCHMENT, BUT HAVE NOT FULFILLED THE PROMISE.
- 2d. THEY PROMISED REFORM, AND FAILED TO FULFIL THE PROMISE.
- 3d. THEY FOUND THE CURRENCY IN A SOUND AND HEALTHY CONDITION, AND BROUGHT IT INTO CONFUSION AND DISORDER.
- 4th. THEY PROMISED A BETTER CURRENCY, BUT GAVE A POORER.
- 5th. THOUGH THE FACT THAT THEY DESTROYED WHAT WAS TERMED BY THEMSELVES THE BEST CURRENCY IN THE WORLD, IS SUFFICIENT TO CONDEMN THEM, YET AS SOME OF THEM PRETEND THAT SPECULATION AND OVERTRADING WERE THE CAUSE OF OUR PRESENT DISASTERS, IT MAY BE WELL ENOUGH TO PROVE THAT THEIR OWN MEASURES CAUSED THE SPECULATION AND OVERTRADING.
- 6th. INDEPENDENT TREASURY SCHEME LESS SAFE, CONVENIENT AND ECONOMICAL, THAN FORMER SYSTEMS OF KEEPING THE PUBLIC MONEY.
- 7th. THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION HAVE COUNTENANCED THE ROBBERY OF THE PUBLIC MONEY.
- 8th. THE ADMINISTRATION ASSUME OR DENY THE

POWERS VESTED IN THEM BY THE CONSTITUTION,
AS SUITS THEIR CONVENIENCE.

9th. MR. VAN BUREN AN ENEMY TO THE LABORING
MAN.

10th. MR. VAN BUREN HAS NEGLECTED THE RIGHTS
AND INTERESTS IN RELATION TO THE COLONIAL
TRADE.

These propositions are not the only ones which might be supported in the same way, nor are the extracts in support of them the only ones to be found. On the contrary, they are but mere samples of an immense quantity of like character, to which all are referred who are not satisfied.

1st. *The Administration party promised Retrenchment, but have failed to fulfil this promise.*

The promise of retrenchment is notorious—nevertheless the proof may not be amiss. In 1828, before Gen. Jackson had commenced his administration, his friends in the House of Representatives introduced some resolutions in favor of retrenchment. These resolutions were supported with much zeal by all the leading men of the Jackson party in the House, McDuffie, Buchanan, Floyd, Kremer, Randolph, &c. Mr. Floyd of Va., in a speech to be found on page 1144, vol. x., part ii., Gales & Seaton's Register, said, "Are we to be told that the expenses of the contingent fund under this Government have not increased? They *have* increased, are increasing, and ought to be diminished."

Mr. George Kremer said in the same debate, "when the elder, or first Adams, attempted to break the Constitution, and introduce a system of wasteful extravagance, the people measured out to him what justice required;—I hope the same justice that was measured out to the first, will be measured out to the second." Mr. Rives said, "I am one of those who have the cause of retrenchment really at heart. I believe there is great occasion for it."

Here is the promise. The failure of fulfilment may be seen by the following :

Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a statement of Expenditure, exclusive of the Public Debt, for each year, from 1824 to 1838.

June 28, 1838.—Read and laid upon the table.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, June 27, 1838.

SIR : In obedience to the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 25th instant, I have the honor to "lay before the House a statement showing the amount of expenditure, *exclusive of the public debt*, for each year, from 1824 to 1838."

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

LEVI WOODBURY,

Secretary of the Treasury.

Hon. J. K. POLK,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Statement showing the amount of expenditure of the United States, exclusive of the public debt, for each year, from 1824 to 1837, inclusive, stated in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 25th of June, 1838."

For the year 1824,	\$15,330,144 71
Do 1825,	11,490,459 94

Do	1826,	13,062,316 27
Do	1827,	12,653,095 65
Do	1828,	13,296,041 45
Do	1829,	12,660,460 62
Do	1830,	13,229,533 33
Do	1831,	13,864,067 90
Do	1832,	16,516,388 77
Do	1833,	22,713,755 11
Do	1834,	18,425,417 25
Do	1835,	17,514,950 28
Do	1836,	30,868,164 04
Do	1837,	*39,164,745 37

NOTE.—The foregoing sums include payments for trust funds and indemnities, which, in 1837, was \$5,610,404, 36.

T. L. SMITH, Register.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *Register's Office, June 27, 1838.*

Excess of Gen. Jackson's highest, in any single year, over Mr. Adams's highest, in any single year, \$17,572,122 59.

Excess of Gen. Jackson's lowest over Mr. Adams's lowest, \$1,170,001 68.

Excess of Mr. Van Buren's one year over Mr. Adams's highest, \$25,868,703 92.

2d. The Administration Party promised Reform, but have failed to fulfil the promise.

The reforms promised related to several supposed abuses, which were denounced with becoming indignation.

The first related to the interference of office holders in elections, and the appointment of men to office, as a reward for party services. In 1826 a Senate committee, composed in part of Mr. Van Buren, Mr. R. M. Johnson and Mr. Benton, made a report upon Executive patronage, to be found in 4th vol. Senate Doc. for 1825-26, 1st sess. 19th Cong. This committee publish a list of the officers in the custom house at New York, and cry: "A formidable list, indeed! formidable in numbers, and still more so from the vast amount of money in their hands. The action of such a body of men, supposing them to be animated by one spirit, must be tremendous in an election, and that they will be so animated is a proposition too plain to need demonstration.

Power over a man's support is always admitted to be power over his will. The President has power over the support of all these officers, and they again have power over the support of debtor merchants, to the amount of ten millions of dollars per annum, and over the daily support of an immense number of individuals, professional, mechanical, and day laboring, to whom they can and will extend or deny a valuable private as well as public patronage, according to the part they shall act in Federal elections. Still, this is only a *branch, a mere prong* of Federal patronage in a single city.

We must look forward to the time when the revenue will be doubled, when the officers will be quadrupled, when the nomination by the President can carry any man through the Senate, and his recommendation any measure through the two houses of Congress; when the principle of public action will be open and avowed,—The President wants my vote, and I want his patronage; I will vote as he wishes,—and he will give me the office I wish for. *What will, this be but the Government of one man? and what is the Government of one man but a monarchy?"*

At this time, the number of officers at New York referred to, was 174, amount of salaries \$119,062 39; in 1836 it appears by the Blue book, they have increased to 414, and their salaries amount to \$409,669 32.

So far from preventing office holders from electioneering, it appears to be the condition upon which they hold their offices. Look at Jesse Hoyt of N. Y. and Geo. Bancroft of Mass. and their dependents. Look also to the Postmasters throughout the country. Look also to the appointment of run-down politicians, whom the people would not trust, to offices of honor and emolument. John M. Niles, whom the people of Connecticut would not have for Governor, is made Postmaster General; William L. Marcy, whom the people of New York discarded, is appointed Commissioner to Mexico; C. C. Cambreleng, whom the people would not trust to represent a district in Congress, the President appoints to represent the nation at a foreign court; Felix Grundy, discarded by the people is made Attorney General; George Bancroft, unable to secure a seat in Congress by the vote of the people, is made Collector of Boston; A. H. Everett, ditto, agent to Cuba, and many others in the same way.

Patronage of the President was another abuse complained of. Mr. Hamilton of S. C., an ardent supporter of Gen. Jackson, said in a speech in the House, 1826,—“Is it necessary that the Executive should have a Government press, to be paid for by the people, to sustain the measures of an administration right or wrong? If 82 presses (the number under patronage at the time) can be made to speak as it were in one voice, that all the Government does is excellent, and all those opposed to them say is false and factious, this constant, combined and concerted language, will have a tendency to make those who hear little else, believe all this is true.”

Mr. Amos Kendall, accordingly, upon entering the office of Fourth Auditor, wrote letters to sixteen publishers of newspapers which had been taken at that office, as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Fourth Auditor's office, March 24th, 1829. }

Sir,—Not believing that I am authorized to charge the Government with subscriptions to newspapers, which are not useful to me in the discharge of my official duties, and not perceiving that I can derive any assistance from your Journal in settling the accounts of the U. S. Navy, I have to request that you will discontinue sending it to this office.

Very respectfully your ob't serv't,
AMOS KENDALL.

Kendall also reformed out of office two brothers, because he hated family monopoly. These reforms have been effected in the following manner, to wit:

Beals & Greene, of the Boston Post, who received nothing in 1826, now receive some \$15,000 per annum by way of patronage.

Editors have been appointed to office in abundance, the following in Massachusetts:

W. H. Spear, of Norfolk Argus, to an office in Boston Custom House.

S. B. Phinney, of Barnstable, to Boston Custom House.

H. Atwill, of Concord, to Boston Custom House.

F. R. Gourgass, do. and Concord Post Office.

E. Case, of Lowell, Postmaster at Lowell.

C. W. Woodbury, of Salem, Postmaster at Salem.

ple without their knowing it, that it was almost enough to make a lover of his country despair of its liberty. I then stated, that I knew of no measure which could better illustrate the truth of this remark than the one now before us. Its professed object is to restrict the sales of public lands, to prevent speculation. The measure is understood to be an Administration measure.

I then stated, that so far from preventing speculation, it would in fact but consummate the greatest speculation this country has ever witnessed, a speculation originating in a state of things of which those in power were the authors, and by which they had profited : and which this measure, should it become a law, would complete. I then asked what had caused such a demand for public land, and said to answer the question we must look to the state of the currency. That it was owing to the extraordinary increase of bank paper. * * * I then asked what had caused this inundation of paper ? The answer was, the "experiment" which has removed the only restriction which had existed against the issue of bank paper. The consequence was predicted at the time ; it was foretold that banks would multiply without number, and pour forth their issues without restriction or limitation. These predictions were at the time unheeded—their truth now begins to be realized."

6th. Independent Treasury Scheme, less safe, less convenient, and less economical than other systems of collecting and keeping the public Money.

(Extract from the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Dec. 12th, 1834.)

"In considering the safety of the State Banks, it should be remembered that the owners and managers of banks, when properly regulated by legislative provisions in their charters, are like other individuals, interested to transact business securely ; are desirous of making and not losing money ; and that these circumstances, with the preference, in case of failure, belonging to depositors and bill-holders over stock-holders, united with the security, if not the priority given to Government, render them in point of safety, generally much *superior to individual agents of the United States.*

Hence, unless the States and the United States, should *both* deem it proper, gradually, and in the end *entirely* to dispense with the *paper system*, and which event is not anticipated, the Government cannot escape occasional losses from that quarter, and can *never* hope to escape all losses from banks as *fiscal agents*, *except in the employment in their place of other and individual agents, who will probably be found less responsible, safe, convenient and economical.*"

Extract from the speech of Mr. Patton of Va., a leading Administration member of the House of Representatives, Feb. 11th, 1835.

"The Bank of the United States, it is conceded, is to be dispensed with, and it is believed there are *insuperable* objections attending the only scheme, which has been brought into competition with the State banks, (i. e. the Sub-Treasury, proposed by Mr. Gordon.) "Admitting the existence of the deprecated evils of the bank system, the scheme as proposed, for disconnecting the Government and banks, does not go one iota towards the accomplishment of the object.

The money will still be deposited in banks ; for it is not proposed to compel the collectors and receivers to keep the public money in specie in their own hands ; and if it were, *it would only render the scheme more indefensible*, and the whole matter ends, therefore, in changing the person in whom you will repose confidence—whether in a high officer of the Government, the elevation of whose position, placing the eyes of the whole country upon him, furnishes a guarantee against any improper use of his discretion, or whether you will devolve this discretion upon an army of subordinates, whose livelihood depends upon their retaining their offices, who are less exposed to the public gaze, and perhaps less under the restraint of high moral considerations ; who may be stimulated by a desire to propitiate the powers that be, to abuse their discretion ; and whose situation is such, that they may give the *worst effect* to this kind of influence, when they choose to exert it :—and this to be accomplished at a vast increase of expense, a considerable multiplication of officers, and a great addition to the patronage of the Executive."

7th. The present Administration have countenanced the Robbery of the Public Money.

In support of this, the same credence will be relied on as in the former cases, viz : their own voluntary testimony. Doc. 297, 2d Sess. 25th Congress, House of Representatives, contains 379 letters to collectors and receivers who had failed to comply with the laws of the Government.

Of these letters, 15 were written to W. P. Harris, receiver at Columbus, Miss., just reminding him that he was a defaulter. When the 15th came, he nominated his successor, and resigned, a defaulter to the amount of \$128,884 70. The Secretary of the Treasury had so much respect for the opinion of this belief, that he actually appointed the person Harris recommended as his successor to the office. This person was one G. D. Boyd, and in a short time he was a defaulter to the amount of \$55,000. An agent was now sent to examine the affairs in this place, who reported in part as follows: "Another receiver would probably follow in the footsteps of the two. You will not, therefore, be surprised if I recommend his being retained in preference to another appointment; for he has his hands full now, and will not be disposed to speculate any more."

August 8th, 1837, Levi Woodbury wrote to this defaulter, that he was *happy to hear of his frank and honorable course*. This letter was dated two months after the agent reported he "had his hands full" of stolen money.

For further information see Doc. referred to, which contains 400 pages of like matter.

8th. The Administration assume or deny the powers vested in the Government by the Constitution, as suits their own convenience.

This proposition is strikingly illustrated in relation to the power and duty of regulating the currency, as defined by them at different times. Gen. Jackson expressly asserted, that one leading object of his "experiment" was to furnish the people with a "better currency."

Mr. Taney, while Secretary of the Treasury, wrote a letter to the committee of Ways and Means, to be found in the 157th page of the Appendix to Vol. X. Gales & Seaton's Register of Debates. In that letter the power to regulate the currency is recognized in the following extract:

"In submitting this view of the currency, *and the plan of improving it*, I have endeavoured to provide against the danger of a too sudden contraction of the present circulating medium. I am not prepared to say that the amount in circulation is at this moment greater, or even so great, as the convenience of the country requires. I think it is not." "The great object now in view is to terminate for ever the evil of the present system, and to *place the currency on a foundation so STABLE, that it cannot again be shaken.*"

The power to regulate the currency is here distinctly asserted, but Mr. Van Buren, in the following extract from his message to Congress at the special session, plainly denies this general power.

"If, therefore, I refrain from suggesting to Congress any specific plan for regulating the exchanges of the country, or relieving mercantile embarrassments, it is from a conviction that such measures are not within the constitutional province of the General Government."

9th. Mr. Van Buren an enemy to the laboring Man.

Were we to believe the professions of Mr. Van Buren and his leading men, without inquiring farther, we should come to a very different conclusion. But it is obviously the best way to judge of men by their works in all cases. The Sub-Treasury scheme is the leading measure of Mr. Van Buren's administration. Mr. Buchanan of Penn., gave the reasons of the administration for supporting such a measure, in a speech delivered in the Senate, Jan. 22d, 1840. In his revised and printed speech the following passage occurs:

"Reduce our nominal to the real standard of prices throughout the world, and you cover the country with benefits and blessings."

This is to be done by the Sub-Treasury, in order that we may compete with foreign manufacturers. It is evident, therefore, that the price of labor must be included, or the thing cannot be accomplished. The argument, then, amounts to nothing more nor less than this—the good of the country requires that men should work as cheap in this country as they do in other countries; which sentiment varies but little from one charged upon an old Federalist, and published in capitals at every election, to wit: "that there never would be good times in this country, till a poor man was obliged to work for a sheep's head and pluck per day, and sleep under a cart at night, as they do in Europe."

Mr. Van Buren and his party are opposed to a Tariff for the protection of American industry. It is very plain that a Tariff is beneficial to the whole country, not only from the effects of those which have been tried, but also from the nature of the case. Production enriches a nation;—consumption impoverishes it. Whatever operates to favor production must, therefore, tend to the accumulation of na-

tional wealth. The people of the country are divided into two classes; 1st, those who produce and consume, and 2d, those who consume without producing.

The first class is composed of the great majority of the American people,—all who labor. The second is composed of a few who live in idleness. The question then is, which class must be favored, the large or the small, the industrious or the idle, the men who must work to live, or the men who are able to live without work. For if we have no Tariff, our labourers must work as low as foreigners, or foreigners will undersell us, and take the money out of the country. If we *have* a Tariff, goods must be bought at home, which will save the money at home; prevent a drain of specie; furnish the laboring man with constant employment and good wages, which, in connection with the credit system, will arouse his energies, stimulate and encourage a spirit of enterprise, and elevate him to that high stand among men, where he properly belongs.

This is but a general view of the necessary effects of a Tariff, and as we have not room to go into detail, we will leave the subject, after proving Mr. Van Buren's administration to be opposed to a Tariff. Gen. Jackson, in his annual message to Congress, Dec. 6th, 1831, says, "justice to the merchant as well as the manufacturer, requires that *material* reductions in the import duties be prospective: and unless the present Congress shall dispose of the subject, the proposed reduction cannot properly be made to take effect when the necessity for the revenue arising from the present rates shall cease."

Mr. Van Buren, in his inaugural address, said, "I shall tread generally in the footsteps of my illustrious predecessor, happy if I shall be able to perfect the work he has so gloriously begun." Mr. Bancroft, Collector of Boston, in his address at Hartford, Feb. 18th, 1840, said, "The current of advancing civilization is sweeping against such a system with irresistible energy." Mr. Cambreleng, also, in a speech to be found in Reg. of Deb. vol. viii., part iii., page 3736, said, "He was opposed to the protective system, and lamented the doctrines promulgated by the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Davis,) by which it appeared the protective system was sought to be made perpetual."

10th. *Mr. Van Buren has neglected the rights and interests of the country in relation to the Colonial Trade.*

Before Gen. Jackson came into power, there had been a dispute in relation to the carrying trade between this country and the West Indies. Our Government had so managed it, however, that Maine and Massachusetts kept it mostly in their hands. When Mr. McLane was sent to England as minister, Mr. Van Buren, as Secretary of State, gave his instructions, and said there were three grounds upon which we were most assailable, the first of which was, "in our too long and too tenaciously resisting the right of Great Britain to impose protecting duties in her colonies." Accordingly, to prevent assault, this *resistance* was stopped, and the consequence can be seen in the difference of the number of British arrivals and clearances at Boston between the years 1830 and 1839.

1830—British Arrivals from foreign ports were	18
Clearances,	24
1839, Arrivals,	617
Clearances,	609

Thus has Mr. Van Buren benefitted the "British" at our expense.

We cannot close this evidence without alluding to Gen. Harrison. The leading men of the Locofoco party are denouncing Gen. Harrison as a coward, who was never in a battle; a man of no capacity, and less character, and many honest people believe them. Therefore, to show the depravity of the lies they are now telling, we shall exhibit some of the evidence, which they formerly gave, when they were more impartial and candid.

"At the celebrated battle of Tippecanoe, in 1811, Gen. H., as Governor, was at the head of the troops, and directed the action. The defence of Fort Meigs, and the subsequent capture of the British army, may be fairly considered the most brilliant and extraordinary events of the late war. The civil administration of Gen. Harrison, although not marked with such brilliant circumstances as his military operations, was, notwithstanding, managed with equal judgment."

(J. M. Niles, Postmaster General, 1821.)

"What man lives, *whose heart and soul is not British*, that cannot sincerely rejoice in the late victories of Perry and Harrison,—that does not feel a pride in the *valor* and patriotism of the heroes of the West, who have freed a country as large as the empire of Alexander the Great from the Indian tomahawk and scalping knife! If there be such an one, he is a traitor to his country—he possesses the spirit of a murderer."

(Isaac Hill, 1813.)

"Of the career of Gen. Harrison I need not speak—the history of the West is his history. For forty years he has been identified with its interests, its perils, and its hopes.—Universally beloved in the walks of peace, and distinguished by his ability in the councils of his country, he has been yet more illustriously distinguished in the field. During the late war, he was longer in active service than any other General officer; he was perhaps oftener in action than any one of them, and *never sustained a defeat*."

(R. M. Johnson, Vice President, 1831.)

"I profess to be somewhat acquainted with the history of Gen. Harrison's political, military and private life. I am his neighbour, and live in his county. As to his private life, I know of no stain that for a moment sullies him."

(Dr. Duncan, 1840.)

Here, then, we have the character of the leaders of the Administration, voluntarily given by themselves. Who could fear the success of worse men? Here we have their impartial opinions of Gen. Harrison. Who could desire or hope for the success of a better?

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